

In 1953, heads of educational institutions were informed that as from the beginning of the following year, no further Non-European students from territories beyond the borders of the Union were to be admitted, although students already enrolled could continue their courses. This ban was later partially relaxed in so far as higher educational institutions were concerned.

Nationalist Members of Parliament have for some time been pressing for apartheid at Universities.(1) Non-Europeans are at present admitted to the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand on a basis of "academic non-segregation"; separate, parallel classes are conducted for them at the University of Natal; and a Non-European University College exists at Fort Hare. The Minister of Education, Arts and Science has said(2) that universities are expected to take note of the traditional viewpoint of Europeans in South Africa. In December, 1953, a commission was appointed "to investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for Non-Europeans at universities". The desirability of effecting such separation was not included in the terms of reference.

In accordance with a decision taken by the previous government, a Medical School for Non-Europeans has been established in Durban, and Government bursaries have been provided.

There have so far been few major changes in the education of Coloured and Asiatic children. Most of the Asiatics live in Natal, where free education is being progressively introduced to the matriculation stage, but where about one-third of the children can still not be accommodated in schools. Over 80 per cent. of the Indian schools have been built by the initiative of the Indian community, assisted by £ for £ grants from the Provincial Administration. In the Cape, where most of the Coloured people live, education is free until the pupil attains the age of fifteen, and probably about 85 per cent. of the Coloured children are in school. Compulsory education is being introduced progressively. A Provincial Commission on Coloured Education has been appointed: among its terms of reference are "whether the nature and direction of the present educational system fulfil the needs of the Coloured population, or whether the system with its emphasis on the academic side does not lead to a feeling of frustration".

Health and Welfare.

Non-Europeans continue to qualify for most of the pensions and grants available to Europeans, for example children's maintenance grants, maternity allowances, disability grants, blind persons' and old age pensions, poor relief, etc., although the scale of payments for Non-Europeans is considerably lower than it is in the case of Europeans. According to latest available figures(3) about £12,700,000 is spent annually on pensions and grants for Europeans, and £6,960,000 on Non-Europeans. On several occasions since 1948, pension-rates have been increased. There have, however, been three decisions operating to the disadvantage of Non-Europeans. Firstly, family allowances for Indians were terminated in 1948: the Coloured people are the only Non-Europeans now in receipt of these allowances. Secondly, the Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act of 1949 excluded from benefits available under the principal Act all Africans whose wages do not exceed £132 a year, all migratory labourers irrespective of their earnings, and seasonal workers employed on work ordinarily available to them for under eight months in the year.

Thirdly, the Native School Feeding Scheme was severely restricted in 1949. It was decided that only African children in primary schools other than those on European farms who, in the opinion of the organizer, were over

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- (1) e.g. debate in Assembly, 31st August, 1953.
(2) Assembly, 31st August, 1953. Hansard No. 8, cols 2592/2594, 2611.
(3) Calculated by the writer from information made available by Departments of State.

6 and under 14 years of age, should be allowed school feeding; and that schools which did not participate in the scheme before April, 1949, would be ineligible. The total amount to be voted annually by Parliament for the scheme would not be increased, thus any rise in attendance at participating schools would have the effect of reducing the amount available per pupil. Since 1949, decreasing amounts have been voted: £628,000 was provided in 1954/55 as against £870,000 in 1948/49. The Minister of Education, Arts and Science said(1) that through greater centralization, economies had proved possible.

A Department of Nutrition was set up in 1952, which has done useful work from which all racial groups benefit. It has produced fortified brown bread and is conducting tests in the enriching of mealie meal.

The Health Centre scheme instituted by the previous government has been maintained but not extended. Much attention, with excellent results in the first three cases, has been given to combating eye diseases, malaria, leprosy, tuberculosis and bilharzia. Registration of all African births and deaths has become compulsory.

In the field of recreation, a radio re-diffusion service has been instituted for Africans in Certain Johannesburg townships; and courses for Coloured sports leaders have been conducted.

The Police, Crime and Imprisonment.

As in many other countries, crime has increased very rapidly in South Africa, particularly in urban areas. In an endeavour to reduce the incidence of serious crime, the Government in 1952 introduced the Criminal Sentences Amendment Act, which provided that persons under 50 years of age convicted of specified offences, including robbery and house-breaking with intent to commit an offence, should be sentenced to whipping with or without imprisonment.

There has been a grave state of insecurity in urban African townships: gangs of youths have imposed a reign of terror, and the large mass of law-abiding people have been afraid to venture out after dark. As the police force seemed unable to deal adequately with the situation, Africans in Johannesburg townships decided in 1951 to form self-protection units which did very useful work. The Commissioner of Police, however, refused to recognize the civilian guards on the ground that the necessary legal machinery did not exist; instead, the Government decided to augment the police force in African townships by large numbers of African policemen who would be given increasing authority as they proved capable of assuming it. At the end of 1951, the Non-European police establishment totalled nearly 8,000; two years later it had been increased to close on 11,000.

Cases of serious crime reported to the police have risen from 59,326 in 1943 to 167,878 in 1952,(2) and the convictions for all offences from 934,921 in 1948 to 1,163,388 in 1952.(3) On the face of it, the number of convictions of Africans appears to be very high; but if the figures are analysed it becomes apparent that in 1952, the percentages of the total population convicted of serious offences were 0.52 in the case of Africans and 0.39 for the European section. Over half of the convictions of Africans were for technical offences against pass laws or regulations governing possession of liquor.

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(1) Assembly, 1st September, 1953. Hansard No. 8, col. 2668.

(2) From page 8, Annual Report of Commissioner of Police UG. 33/1953.

(3) From Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.

VII. APARTHEID AS AFFECTING PARTICULARLY THE COLOURED AND ASIATIC PEOPLE.

The economic and social implications of the apartheid doctrine as they affect all Non-European groups have been dealt with above, and the political implications will be considered in the chapter that follows. There are, however, two matters falling outside these heads which should be mentioned.

Sub-Department of Coloured Affairs.

A large section of the Cape Coloured people has for many years vociferously objected to any separation of their affairs from those of the Europeans. In 1951, however, the Government created a sub-department of Coloured Affairs as a link between the Cape Coloured community and the various Government Departments. Several well-paid posts on its staff are available to Coloured men. The Board is paying special attention to increasing the housing facilities and employment opportunities available to Coloured people.

Expatriation of Indians.

The policy of several successive governments in South Africa has been that as many of the Indian people as possible should be sent to India; and the present government is in agreement. The Prime Minister has said, (1) "They are a portion of the population which does not belong to South Africa ... When they have any grievance, they do not go to their own government ... Under those circumstances, they must be content to live in this country under restrictions".

In the early days, indentured Indian labourers, brought to work on the Natal sugar estates, were given the choice, when their contracts expired, of remaining in South Africa or being granted a free passage home. In 1911, the Indian Government ceased to permit the recruiting of labour, and the South African Government prohibited further free immigration. Every effort was made, in the years that followed, to induce the Indians to return home, and although the average annual number of those returning was about 2,500 until 1933, it has since dwindled practically to nothing. The overwhelming majority of the Indians in South Africa to-day are the descendants of those who remained; and it is thus a misnomer to talk about repatriating them, as both the two main political parties do. These Indians (apart from a few in the Cape) have no political rights; and this is one of the reasons why the Indian Government has intervened on their behalf.

In 1950, a preliminary conference with delegates from India, Pakistan and the Union was held to consider the possibility of convening a round table conference on the Indian question in South Africa. Delegates agreed to recommend that such a conference be held; but arrangements fell through after the introduction of the Group Areas Bill, trade relations then came to a standstill, and the bitter United Nations' debates on the subject commenced.

Twice since 1948 the South African Government has increased the bonus payable to Indians who agree voluntarily to go to India, but few have accepted the offer.

In the past, wives and minor children of Indian men permanently resident in the Union have been permitted to come from India to join them; but, under the Immigration Regulation Amendment Act of 1953 this will in future be prohibited. The Minister of the Interior stated (2) that it was unnecessary to

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(1) Assembly, 22nd September, 1948. Hansard, col. 3054.

(2) Assembly, 10th February, 1953. Hansard No. 3, col. 897.

continue the arrangement since the former unequal relationship between male and female Indians in South Africa had now disappeared. However, members of other racial groups possess the right to marry overseas and to bring their wives and minor children back with them.

The Prime Minister said in 1953(1) that South Africa would have to be patient in seeking a solution of the Indian problem in the Union by repatriation because the Indian Government was unwilling to co-operate, and without such co-operation little could be done.

VIII. APARTHEID IN THE POLITICAL FIELD.

Principle of Representation in Central Governing Bodies.

The Prime Minister said in 1948,(2) "We want to have apartheid between European and Non-European in so far as the legislative bodies of the country are concerned, not that we want to deny the Non-Europeans any say or deprive them of their rights. But instead of their sitting with us in the same legislative assembly we want to build up for them their own self-governing institutions in their own territories". In a letter to the African National Congress(3) he said, "The Government will under no circumstances entertain the idea of giving administrative, executive or legislative powers over Europeans, within the European community, to Bantu men and women, or to smaller Non-European groups".

Central Representation of Asiatics.

Until 1946, the only Asiatics in South Africa who possessed the franchise were a few men in the Cape Province who could qualify by being literate and earning £50 a year or owning fixed property to the value of £96. They vote on the common roll.

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 provided for two Senators to represent Indians, one to be appointed and the other to be elected by the Indian people. They were to be represented in the House of Assembly, too. Male adults in Natal and the Transvaal (there are none in the Orange Free State) who had passed Standard six, were Union Nationals, and possessed an income of not less than £84 a year or fixed property to the value of £250, were to be enfranchised and placed on a separate voters' roll to elect three representatives, who must be Europeans. Natal Indian voters would also elect two representatives, who might be Europeans or Asiatics, to the Natal Provincial Council.

The new Government, in 1948, repealed all these provisions, which had never been implemented. The position is now as it was prior to 1946 except that efforts are being made to place Asiatic voters in the Cape, together with the Coloured voters, on a separate roll.

Central Representation of Coloured People.

Coloured men in the Cape Province can at present qualify for the franchise on the common roll on the same terms as those described above for Asiatics. They also have the franchise in Natal, subject to being literate and earning £96 a year or owning fixed property of this value. Coloured people in the Transvaal and Orange Free State have no parliamentary representation; but from 1943 were represented by appointed members on a Coloured Advisory Council.

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(1) Assembly, 24th September, 1953.

(2) Assembly, 2nd September 1948. Hansard, col. 1481.

(3) Dated 29th January, 1952.

This was abolished in 1950, however, after a large majority of members had resigned in protest against the apartheid policy.

From the commencement of its term of office the new Government made it clear that it intended placing Coloured voters on a separate roll. The Separate Representation of Voters Act, passed in 1951, legalized this decision. It provided that Coloured and Asiatic voters of the Cape were, through a separate roll, to elect four European representatives to the Assembly and two representatives, who might be European or Coloured, to the Cape Provincial Council. Should the total of European constituencies be legally altered at any time, the number of Coloured constituencies would be altered in such a way that the originally determined numerical relation would be maintained. Registered Coloured voters of Natal were to remain on the common roll until their death, but no further registrations would be made. Representation of Cape Coloured voters in the Senate would be by a nominated European Senator.

Under the South Africa Act of 1911, changes in voting rights may be effected only if the measure concerned is passed by a two-thirds majority at a joint Sitting of the Senate and Assembly. This was not done in the case of the Separate Representation of Voters Act; and the Appeal Court therefore ruled that the Act was invalid. The following month, the High Court of Parliament Bill was introduced, and was passed during 1952. It provided for the establishment of a Court consisting of all the members of the Senate and Assembly sitting together, which would have power by a simple majority to confirm, vary or set aside any judgement of the Appellate Court invalidating any Act of Parliament. In turn, the High Court of Parliament Act was ruled invalid on the ground that Parliament cannot, by giving itself the name of a court of law, come to any decision which will have the effect of destroying the entrenched provisions of the Constitution. A South Africa Act Amendment Bill was then introduced but failed to gain a two-thirds majority at a joint sitting. The Government's next move was to introduce the Appellate Division Bill, providing for a Court of Constitutional Appeal, with judges appointed by the Government, which would be the only court to hear appeals relating to the validity of Acts of Parliament. This measure, however, was not proceeded with.

Instead, a Separate Representation of Voters Act Validation and Amendment Bill was introduced at a joint session of both Houses of Parliament, at which it was decided to appoint a Select Committee on the measure. The report of this Committee is expected shortly.

Central Representation of Africans.

Until 1936, African men in the Cape Province could qualify for the franchise on possession of the same qualifications as those applicable to Asiatics and Coloured men; but in that year they were placed on a separate roll to elect three European representatives to the House of Assembly and two to the Cape Provincial Council. Africans from remaining Provinces have no representation in the Assembly; but four Europeans, elected through electoral colleges, represent Africans of all provinces in the Senate.

Soon after the 1948 elections, many Nationalists pressed for the abolition of African representation in the Assembly, and this agitation was heightened by the fact that the member representing Africans in the Cape Western constituency was said to be a communist. Following the passage of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, however, he was expelled; and similar action was taken against his successor. The Prime Minister later said⁽¹⁾ that there had undoubtedly been a strong feeling in the country that the representation of Natives in the Assembly should be abolished. However, abuse of this representation had now been checked, for it would be impossible for them again to elect known communists. "I am prepared to leave the matter there," he said. "I think I am speaking here for my party. Naturally we cannot bind anyone for the future." The responsibility in connection with their franchise rested on the Natives themselves. It

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(1) Senate, 14th May, 1952. Hansard col. 2743.

was of paramount importance that their representatives "should be people who will approach questions affecting Natives more realistically".

The Natives Representative Council, described in an earlier chapter of this article, met in 1950 and was addressed by the Minister of Native Affairs. Deadlock was then reached on the Council's right to discuss the Minister's speech, and it adjourned. In terms of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, it was abolished.

Repercussions from Decisions in regard to Representation of Non-Europeans in Central Governing Bodies.

Many of the Europeans in South Africa became extremely concerned over the proposal that Coloured voters be placed on a separate roll. In some cases this was because they regarded the Coloured people as "a permanent appendix to the European population", who should be "treated as allies of the European in his struggle to maintain Western civilization", (1) and whose political rights should be safeguarded. Generally speaking, however, their anxiety was probably due to the fact that if the procedure laid down in the South Africa Act was not to be followed in the case of proposed alterations to the entrenched clause, dealing with voting rights, the other entrenched clause, dealing with the equality of the two official languages, might also be endangered. The "Torch Commando", pledged to defend the Constitution, sprang up throughout South Africa almost overnight, a Women's Action Committee was formed, deputations were sent to see Cabinet Ministers, numerous resolutions were signed, and mass protest meetings were held in most of the major towns.

Among the Non-Europeans, however, the resentment was far more bitter and lasting. A noteworthy result of the legislation was the creation of closer unity between certain Non-European organizations which until then had been mainly concerned with the sectional interests of the various racial groups. In February, 1951, representatives of three of the largest bodies, the S.A. Indian Congress, the African National Congress and the African People's Organization (with predominantly Coloured membership) met to elect a joint Franchise Action Committee. A one-day "political strike", observed by many workers, was called, and a planning committee set up for a campaign against "oppressive measures". This campaign is described in the next chapter.

Because their ancestry varies widely and their interests thus lie in different directions, there has never been a single organization representative of all the Coloured people. Greater unanimity than ever before has, however, resulted from the legislation on the Coloured vote.

Urban Local Government.

The present position in regard to representation of Non-Europeans on municipal governing bodies is a complicated one. In the Cape Province, all Non-Europeans in urban areas are eligible for the municipal franchise on the same terms as those applicable to Europeans, and they are also entitled to sit as full members of local government bodies. Few Africans are able to qualify as voters, however, because of restrictive measures relating to tenure of land in urban areas. Of the Non-European groups in Natal, Coloured persons only are eligible for the municipal franchise. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State Non-Europeans have no municipal franchise rights. There has, during recent years, been no suggestion that any alterations should be made to these arrangements.

It is obligatory on local authorities to establish an advisory board for every African location or village in their areas. The constitution of these boards varies, but in most cases they have certain members appointed by the local authority and an equal number elected by registered African stand-holders.

(1) From speech by Leader of the Opposition, 18th November, 1952.

The chairman is usually the local location superintendent.

It has for a long time been realized that the advisory board system has proved a failure. These bodies have no execution or legislative powers, and are considered by most Africans to be merely "talking shops" with no power to promote the people's interests. The Fagan Commission, which reported in 1948, recommended that the advisory boards be replaced by Native Village Boards with elected members which, subject to municipal control, would have defined responsibilities and executive functions.

The new Government agreed in principle with these recommendations, many of which were incorporated in the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill of 1952. This measure has never been proceeded with, however. Municipal Authorities were unwilling to accept the principal involved, and Africans were unenthusiastic, considering that the only way in which they could effectively share in the responsibilities of local government was by their direct representation on town councils.

African Rural Areas.

Under enactments dating back to 1894, in the Cape, a system of General District and Local Councils (or Reserve Boards) was being gradually built up when the present Government took over. These bodies have both nominated and elected members, with a European official as chairman; and possess defined executive and financial powers which, particularly in the Cape, are considerable.

One of the cornerstones of the apartheid policy is that Africans should have no political rights in "European" areas, but should be given increasing rights of self-government in their own areas. The Prime Minister defined the new Government's policy as follows : (1) "We will give them more and more self-governing powers in their own territories gradually and slowly as they achieve the ability for such powers and get the sense of responsibility they need". He added, however, "In their own areas they will always have to stand under the guardianship and the domination of the white man in South Africa."

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, which abolished the Natives Representative Council, provided for the establishment of Bantu tribal, Regional and territorial authorities which might, after full consultation with the people concerned, be substituted for existing general or local councils. Each authority is to have its own treasury and possess administrative and executive powers. Tribal authorities, which are also to be granted judicial powers, will consist of a chief or headman of a tribe or community in association with tribal councillors; the elective principle is excluded. From amongst members of these bodies, the chairman and members of regional authorities will be chosen. The functions of regional authorities are to include establishment and maintenance of educational institutions, hospitals and clinics, construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, suppression of stock diseases, improvement of farming methods, and afforestation. The third step in the pyramid will be territorial authorities, with members chosen from the personnel of the regional authorities.

Several tribal authorities have since been constituted in the Witzieshoek, Thaba 'Nchu, Rustenburg, Sibasa and Marico areas; but no regional or territorial authorities have yet been established.

The old system of general and district councils is most firmly and successfully established in the Transkei. At its 1953 Session, the United Transkeian Territories General Council (Bunga) requested that this system should not be disturbed and that the Bantu Authorities Act should not be applied in its area: it appears that this request is to be granted, for a revised constitution for the Bunga was promulgated later that year, providing for the gradual transfer

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of the control of Council affairs to Africans when the time is considered ripe.

IX. NON-EUROPEAN ATTITUDES DURING RECENT YEARS,
AND ACTION TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT.

In analysing Non-European attitudes, it is important to bear in mind that a large majority of these people, particularly the rural Africans, are as yet inarticulate and unaware of the implications of the different Non-European policies. There are groups who have expressed willingness to accept the apartheid policy as a condition for their development and uplift. But amongst the educated and the urbanized Non-Europeans there has been a rising surge of frustration and resentment; these feelings have been spreading rapidly from the leaders to the masses; nationalist movements have gained impetus; and tensions between Black and White have mounted dangerously.

Campaign of Defiance of "Unjust Laws".

Following the introduction of the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, a joint planning council of the African National Congress and the S.A. Indian Congress was set up to suggest how the efforts of Non-European organizations could be co-ordinated to secure the repeal of legislation considered discriminatory. After the proposals of this council had been studied by the two bodies, a letter was sent from the A.N.C. to the Prime Minister, re-iterating the plea, made over many years to successive governments, for direct representation of Non-Europeans in the councils of state, and calling for the repeal of specified "unjust and racial discriminatory laws" by February, 1952, failing which "mass action" would be taken. In his reply the Prime Minister outlined the Government's intention of allowing Africans increased opportunities in their own areas, and stated that it would not agree to repeal the laws mentioned by the A.N.C.

Congress replied stating that there was no alternative, then, to a mass defiance campaign. The S.A. Indian Congress and the Franchise Action Committee decided to participate, and a fund was raised to finance the campaign, which was launched in June, 1952. The plan decided upon was that units of volunteers would commit technical offences such as contravention of pass laws and apartheid regulations, would court arrest, and would elect to serve prison sentences. By the end of the year, over 8,000 volunteers had been arrested. But then, for a number of reasons, the nature of the campaign was altered.

During October and November, 1952, there was tragic rioting in Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley. There was no direct connection between these events and the Defiance Campaign; nevertheless Non-European leaders realized that it would for the time being be unwise in the extreme to arrange further demonstrations in the areas concerned. Instead, two multi-racial demonstrations, with European participants, were organized in areas which had not been affected by the riots. Following these, very stern measures against incitement to protest and offences committed by way of protest were taken by the Government, and the leaders of the campaign realized that it would be unfair to expect their followers to participate in further overt acts of defiance. The Joint Planning Council met to discuss how Non-Europeans could best act within the new framework; and the African National Congress has since decided on a carefully organized boycott of firms or factories which they consider should employ Africans in more skilled positions or should pay better wages. Together with other bodies it is planning a congress of the people of South Africa, the task of which will be to work out a "Freedom Charter" for all groups.

Action taken by the Government

In the early stages, the Government sought to dislocate the organization

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of the defiance campaign by placing restrictions on the leaders under the Suppression of Communism and Riotous Assemblies Acts. They were prohibited from attending any public gatherings, also from entering stated magisterial districts.

As the campaign was intensified, and following the riots, further measures were deemed necessary. Parliament was in recess at the time, thus proclamations were published rendering it an offence to attend a meeting at which more than ten Africans were present, unless permission had been obtained. Certain types of meetings were excluded, and the provisions did not for the time being apply to urban areas. Incitement of Africans was also prohibited.

Early in 1953, the Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Acts were passed. The first of these provides that, when the government considers that the maintenance of public order is endangered and the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to deal with the situation, the Governor-General may proclaim a state of emergency in the Union or in a particular area. Once this has been done, the Governor-General may issue any regulations he thinks necessary, and such regulations may suspend any laws except those concerning defence, the operation of legislatures, or industrial conciliation actions.

The companion Act provides for increased penalties for those found guilty of offences committed by way of protest or in support of any campaign against any law or for the repeal or modification of any law. More severe penalties are laid down for those who incite others to commit offences by way of protest; and the Act renders it illegal to solicit or receive financial or other assistance for organized protest or resistance against the laws of the Union. Maximum penalties are a fine of £500 or five years' imprisonment or ten lashes, or a combination of any two of these.

Results of Defiance Campaign.

These extremely severe measures succeeded in bringing to a close the Defiance Campaign in its original form: but the results of the Campaign cannot be dismissed as insignificant. It brought together the leaders of various Non-European groups, and considerable talent for organization and willingness for self-sacrifice was revealed amongst them; it enhanced the prestige of the African National Congress and led to a very large increase in its membership (from 7,000 in 1951 to over 100,000 to-day, it is claimed); and it focussed attention outside the Union on the position of South Africa's Non-Europeans. Further, the fervour shown by normally law-abiding participants in the demonstrations indicated that they sincerely believed themselves to lie under irksome and discriminatory laws and regulations derogatory to human personality.

X. APARTHEID - AFTER SIX YEARS.

In attempting to sum up the apartheid policy, it must be borne in mind that a period of six years, seen in historical perspective, is an infinitesimal span of time. It is further conceded that even the most ardent protagonists of apartheid have never set out to achieve it in six years, - or indeed in sixty years. But it should, by now, be possible to discern the trend of events. It is useful to pose a series of questions.

1. Has the European group become so enthusiastic about the policy that it is ready to make the great financial sacrifices, and sacrifices of convenience, that will be necessary to achieve total apartheid? It is surely at the commencement

of a new movement that most enthusiasm for it can be expected.

This question can best be answered in the words of the Chairman of the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs, which organization stands for total separation of White and Black. He is reported to have said, at a student conference in Stellenbosch held in May, 1953, that a fatal dualism prevails even among convinced supporters of apartheid. Many Europeans want separation, but not at the cost of their own comfort or the abandonment of so-called cheap labour in the factory or on the farm. One feared, he said, that the ruling motive for supporting apartheid was egotistical and not altruistic.

2. Does it seem likely that the Reserves can be much enlarged, or that they will be able to accommodate more Africans?

It has never been seriously suggested that well over half the European farmers in South Africa should relinquish their land in favour of Africans, as would be necessary for a fair division of the country into separate states. Some advocates of apartheid have suggested that the incorporation in the Union of the High Commission Territories would go a long way towards solving the problem, in that the Bechuanaland Protectorate could carry a vastly larger population were water resources developed. But this is not a matter on which the Union has sole powers of jurisdiction, and British agreement, at present, seems unlikely.

At 1952 prices, it would cost about £12 million even to purchase all the remaining land in the scheduled areas. The land purchase programme has been slower since 1948 than it was in the years immediately following the passage of the enabling Act, for land prices have increased and so has the reluctance of Europeans to implement the scheme. It was put to the Government that a vast re-settlement scheme for Africans would be possible on the Makatini Flats if these could be irrigated; but it appears that if this area is developed it will be used for European settlement.

It is generally recognized that if the Reserves are to be effectively rehabilitated, about fifty per cent. of their inhabitants will have to move off the land. This would mean finding alternative employment for some 1,200,000 Africans of working age now in the Reserves, plus large numbers more to be sent back from "European" areas. No new industries have since 1948 been established in or on the borders of the Reserves.

Development and reclamation work commenced in earlier years has been continued and extended, and considerable sums have been spent on it. Valuable results have been achieved in certain areas, for example portions of Reserves in the Northern Transvaal; but it is admitted by the Native Affairs Department that there is little hope of effective reclamation work in the Native areas as a whole until their economy can be diversified.

3. Has it proved possible to commence reversing the trend towards economic integration?

Staff shortages have caused the State itself to employ increasing numbers of Non-Europeans in industrial undertakings and in the public service. They are now being employed in posts where they serve not only their own people, but also Europeans, for example as messengers, post-boys and drivers. During 1953,

the number of Non-European's employed in the Railway Administration increased approximately twice as fast as did the European staff. The number of Africans employed in manufacturing industry rose from 162,432 in March, 1951, to 173,360 in November, 1953. (1)

4. What useful results, from the Non-European point of view have been achieved during the past six years?

The constructive measures appear mainly to apply to Africans. Labour bureaux are of assistance to those considered to be permanently unemployed, and to rural Africans wishing to know in which towns they will find immediate employment. Parents in urban areas appreciate the efforts that have been made to find work for their children, and the promise of constructive measures to deal with delinquents. In a few of the larger urban centres, Africans have been issued with reference books which are easier to produce on demand than were the number of flimsy papers they replaced. Industrial workers have been promised machinery to deal with labour disputes, - although many of them would much have preferred access to normal industrial conciliation machinery, and a few, for example African women in the clothing industry, have actually suffered as result. A considerable number of salaried posts, possibly somewhere in the region of 5,000, have been made available to Non-Europeans in the Public Service. Africans are now entitled to qualify as skilled building workers provided that they work in "Native" areas only and for about 3/8 of the wages Europeans receive. Rehabilitative work has been continued and extended in the Reserves.

So far as social amenities are concerned, a certain amount of red tape in the approval of housing schemes has been eliminated; useful experimental work is being done; increased funds are available for the provision of roads and service mains to the borders of African townships; and in a few urban areas, notably on the East Rand, the housing shortage has been considerably reduced.

For six years the Education Vote has steadily been increased; but in the case of Africans the allocation from general revenue is to be increased no further. There have been slight rises in blind, old-age and certain other pension rates. A radio re-diffusion service has been instituted in some of the Johannesburg townships. Very valuable work has been done in the combating of malaria, leprosy, tuberculosis and eye diseases.

In the political field, provision has been made for increased financial, executive and administrative powers for rural African local governmental bodies. As against this, the elective principle has been eliminated in the case of all newly-created bodies.

5. What measures, instituted during the past six years, are considered by Non-Europeans to be derogatory?

The most notable results of the apartheid doctrine in the economic sphere have been the increasing truculence of European officials and the re-inforced determination of very many white workers, particularly those in the lower grades of skill, to prevent Non-European economic advancement.

Particularly unfortunately, from the Non-European point of view, was the fact that further conventional colour-bars were being forged at a time when the cost of living was rising rapidly. Africans who have migrated to the urban areas within the last ten to fifteen years are forced to put up with whatever conditions of work happen to be imposed; for if they lose their employment they run grave risk of ejection from the town and possibly separation from their families.

Race zoning plans, drawn up under the Group Areas Act, have caused fierce resentment. In areas likely to be affected under the Act, housing schemes and

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From Table B 3, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, March, 1954.

and/...

and renovations have been held up and property values have depreciated. Particularly in the smaller towns, Indian businessmen are likely to lose their livelihoods. Thousands of Africans are threatened with summary removal, in a few cases involving loss of urban freehold rights; and many families in other townships, who have waited long years for municipal houses, are afraid that normal housing programmes will be dislocated. Apartheid measures in post-offices and on the railways have caused resentment which was inflamed by the passage of the "separate but unequal" Act. Congestion on suburban railways and public transport services has increased, and in most of the larger urban areas the housing shortage has become progressively greater.

Africans are very worried indeed about the possible implications of the Bantu Education Act, and consider the decision in regard to the future financing of their educational institutions to be grossly unfair. All educated Non-Europeans much resent the proposals for University apartheid. Many African school-children, African workers and Indian mothers have suffered through the curtailment or termination of certain welfare grants.

Indians resent the Immigration Regulation Amendment Act; and although they considered the political representation granted them in terms of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 to be highly inadequate, they could hardly welcome being deprived of any representation whatsoever in the three Northern Provinces.

Coloured people have been particularly humiliated. They had previously been treated as an "appendix" to the European section; and the efforts to have them placed on a separate voters' roll have been a bitter blow, particularly as methods considered by the Appeal Court to be unconstitutional were adopted. Africans have been told that their limited representation in the Assembly is likely to be preserved only so long as they elect representatives who, in Government eyes, adopt a "realistic" approach.

A considerable number of Non-European leaders have had their movements very severely restricted and have been prohibited from attending any public gatherings. Many of those who are most politically aware have served prison sentences for participation in the defiance campaign and have, naturally, become more embittered. The "strong-arm" methods adopted to put an end to the campaign were greatly resented especially as they were accompanied by no concessions whatsoever to Non-European aspirations.

6. Does the Balance Sheet show a credit or a debit?

The vast majority of Non-Europeans are undoubtedly of opinion that, during the past six years, their position has worsened. Not only is the debit list the longer of the two but, if individual items are compared, it is notable that most of the deleterious measures affect far more people than do the measures listed on the credit side.

If apartheid is really a positive and non-repressive policy, as the Prime Minister claims (1), it should surely have been possible, in six years, for the positive aspects to have become more apparent, for some imaginative, inspiring objective to have been shown to the Non-European people to compensate for new restrictions in "European" areas? Recent European policies, and particularly those that have prevailed during the last six years, have, in Non-European eyes, failed to take into account that the African, the Coloured man, the Indian, is a human being who may like to share in the determination of his own future; who may feel within himself the drive of ambition, the frustration of abilities lying idle; who may bitterly resent being punished for offences against laws he does not consider to be just.

The Defiance Campaign was suppressed by use of forceful methods; but can

$2\frac{1}{2}$ million/.....

(1)

e.g. in letter to the Rev. John Piersma of Michigan, U.S.A. copies of which were released to the Press on 30th March, 1954.

2½ million Europeans (not all of one mind in the matter) hope for long forcibly to suppress 10 million Non-Europeans who are becoming increasingly politically aware, articulate and united,

If one entertains any doubt in the matter, it is imperative that alternative policies should be examined. The apartheid policy flows from the rejection of economic integration; but a very large number of South Africans accept that economic integration is here to stay. What policies do they suggest?

XI. ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES.

PROPOUNDED BY THOSE WHO ACCEPT ECONOMIC INTEGRATION.

United Party

In the Assembly on 18th February, 1954 (1), the Hon. J.G.N. Strauss, Leader of the United Party, said, "The question of integration or no integration is fundamental to any approach to the Non-European problem in this country..... So far as the United Party is concerned.... we accept it as a fact and appreciate its value to the country..... We have accepted it for as long as I can remember.... South Africa's best interests demand that this process of economic integration shall continue.... The economic consequences of integration have been vastly to the benefit of South Africa as a whole". He went on to describe how both White and Black had benefitted.

In the same speech, Mr. Strauss said that the Party's Non-European policy would be revised at the Union Congress in November, 1954. In the meanwhile, the main points of Party policy so far expressed have been: (2)

- a) Maintenance of the supremacy of Europeans. Reduction of their fears of being "swamped" by Non-Europeans by the expansion of the white population through planned, large-scale immigration from the mother-countries, and through the provision of generous allowances for mothers and children. A target of ten million white by the end of the century.
- b) Recognition that the majority of Africans live outside the Reserves, and that the interests of the country demand a labour force permanently resident in the urban areas.
- c) Social and residential separation in the common interest of white and black between whom there are racial and cultural differences. Proper separate facilities for all. No miscegenation.
- d) Individual training for Non-Europeans in the service of their people.
- e) The Non-European question "to be taken out of party politics." Recognition that a final and complete solution is impossible. Consultation with other political parties and with Non-Europeans in the endeavour to find a via media.

On specific economic points, arising from the acceptance of economic integration, the United Party's policy is as follows:

- (i) Irksome restrictions upon the movement of deserving Africans to be removed.(3)
- (ii) Application of the work and efforts of Non-Europeans for the benefit of the community as a whole. (4)
- (iii) While/.

(1) Hansard No. 3, cols. 773 - 776.

(2) From decisions of Party Congress, 1952, Hansard No. 3 of 1954, col. 775,783.

(3) Mr. Strauss at U.P. Congress, Nov. 18th, 1952.

(4) Mr. Strauss at meeting in Queenstown, 9th Sept., 1952.

- (iii) While it is accepted that decentralization of industry has certain advantages when in accord with sound economics, it would clearly hamper development to force industries to the borders of the Reserves solely to satisfy ideological racial concepts.(1)
- (iv) Some form of statutory recognition of African trade unions was provided for in the Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill, placed before the House in 1948 but not proceeded with by the new Government.
- (v) A return to the Hertzog Native land policy of 1936, with a definite undertaking to implement the land purchase programme to the full. Development of these enlarged Reserves with the aid, if necessary, of capital from overseas (the American Point-4 Programme was mentioned). Freehold rights to land for farming in certain Native areas. (2)

S.A. Labour Party.

In a general statement of policy, the Labour Party has said, (3) "What is needed is a recognition that co-operation between the races is the only policy that can further the mutual interests of the entire South African community..... It is one thing for a political party to recognise that colour prejudice is a social fact. It is quite another to use it as a pretext for extending injustice and inhumanity as has been the case with the old policies as practised in the past. The Labour Party sets its face resolutely against these practices. Policies based upon fear and hostility merely create fear and hostility. Our programme is not intended to remain permanent or static. As socialists, we recognise the continuous and progressive development of human society. On this basis, we accept that our policy will be subject to such revision which the progress of the African in the cultural and industrial spheres will influence."

On specific points of economic policy the programme of the Labour Party is as follows: (3)

- (i) Abolition of criminal penalties under the pass laws and similar legislation.
- (ii) Inclusion of all workers in the definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act. Existing trade unions shall have the unfettered right to decide whether to admit Non-Europeans to membership or to leave them to form their own trade unions. Statutory recognition of African trade unions.
- (iii) Training of Non-Europeans to play their part according to each man's ability, with two safeguards for Europeans: security of employment at standard rates of pay guaranteed by law, and adoption of the principle of "equal pay for equal work".
- (iv) The gap between skilled and other wage rates to be reduced. Wages paid to Africans on the mines and farms must be brought more into line with those paid in secondary industry. Minimum wages to be laid down for farm labourers; proper training to be provided for them by the State; provisions of the Master and Servant Ordinances as applicable to them to be abolished.
- (v) A planned policy, adequately financed, for the development of the Reserves so as to improve the condition of the present population (and not in order to bring Africans back), and to make them efficient producers of food. So long as there is a lower standard of living in Native areas, industries

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- (1) Press Statement by Mr. Strauss, 12th March, 1954.
- (2) U.P. Congress, November, 1952.
- (3) Policy adopted at Party Conference, January, 1953.

in these areas must not be allowed to undercut industries in other parts of the country. State benefits to European farmers to apply equally to Non-European farmers.

Liberal Party. (1)

Among the fundamental tenets of the Liberal Party are the following :

- (a) The essential dignity of every human being irrespective of race, colour or creed, and the maintenance of his fundamental rights.
- (b) The right of every human being to develop to the fullest extent to which he is capable consistent with the rights of others.
- (c) The maintenance of the rule of law.

Unlike other political parties in South Africa, the Liberal Party accepts Non-European members.

The Party opposes the industrial colour bar.

Union Federal Party. (2)

The Union Federal Party stands for the reshaping of the present "quasi-unitary" system in South Africa to one of Federal Union.

So far as the economic aspect of Non-European affairs is concerned, it stands for:

- (i) Acceptance of economic integration. The recognition of all South-African born people as members of the greater South African community.
- (ii) Exemption from the pass laws for all Africans who have attained a high degree of civilization.
- (iii) The right of Non-Europeans to enter all fields of employment for which they can fit themselves.
- (iv) The necessity of protecting skilled labour against undercutting of wages.

African National Congress. (3).

The aim of the African National Congress is to gain recognition for Africans as citizens of South Africa, on an equal footing with Europeans. On points of economic policy it stands for :

- (i) Abolition of the pass laws.
- (ii) Right of all classes of African workers to organize into trade unions. African trade unions to receive statutory recognition.
- (iii) A living wage for Africans, and better working conditions. The right to

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- (1) From published tenets of Party, and press report of first National Conference, July 1953.
 - (2) From manifest handed to the Press, and policy announced by Natal Chairman at congress in Durban, 28th March, 1954.
 - (3) From Chapter XXI, by R.M. de Villiers, of Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa, ed. Dr. Ellen Hellmann. Extract recently approved verbally by A.N.C. leaders.

learn skilled trades and engage in them. Increased trading rights. Employment of more Africans in graded posts in the public service.

- (iv) Repeal of the Masters and Servants Acts.
- (v) Abolition of special Native taxation and substitution of taxation based on ability to pay, as for other sections of the population.
- (iv) Provision of adequate land for Africans in rural and urban areas, with the right to freehold title; and of land bank facilities to assist African farmers. The "so-called" rehabilitation scheme and cattle culling policy are opposed by the African National Congress.

Natives Representative Council.

Among resolutions passed at various sessions of the Natives Representative Council were the following : (1)

- (i) Abolition of the pass laws.
- (ii) Abolition of influx control. The townward movement is an economic necessity for the African rural population.
- (iii) Extension of opportunities for educated Africans to rise to responsible posts in the Public Service, more particularly in the capacity of serving their own people.
- (iv) The use by the Government of its powers to compel local authorities to concede trade licences to Africans in African urban townships. The elimination of European traders from African Reserves and Location.
- (v) African industrial workers to be granted the same rights of compulsory collective bargaining through the medium of recognised and registered trade unions as are possessed by other workers.
- (vi) Abolition of the poll tax. Africans to pay the ordinary personal taxes to Provincial revenues, and any necessary financial adjustments to be made between the State and the Provinces.
- (vii) The setting aside in rural Locations and on Trust farms of areas where individual Africans may buy land on individual freehold tenure.

Location Advisory Boards Congress, 1954. (2)

- (i) Creation of more avenues of employment for Africans. In all transport services in African areas, Africans to be employed as drivers and conductors. More graded salaried posts for Africans to be available in the Native Affairs Department, and Africans to be given preference in the allocation of trading facilities in their own areas.
- (ii) The principle of equal pay for equal work to be enforced.

The Churches.

Many of the Christian Churches have made pronouncements on Non-European affairs. The views of the 1950 Congress of Federated Dutch Reformed Churches are given earlier in this article. Two of the other largest Churches have expressed their opinions as follows :

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- (1) From summary of resolutions from 1937 to 1945, prepared by Adv. D.B. Molteno.
- (2) From reports of meetings in Johannesburg, January, 1954.

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